

SPEECHES  
OF  
HON. JAMES H. LANE,  
IN THE  
COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK,  
AND OF  
GENERAL NEAL DOW,  
IN THE  
NEW CITY HALL, PORTLAND,  
THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 24, 1861,  
ON  
**His Return from Captivity in a Rebel Prison.**

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# SPEECH

OF

## GENERAL NEAL DOW.

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MR. MAYOR, LADIES AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: You will readily believe me, I know, when I assure you that it gives me great joy to stand here to-night. The contrast between what I see now and what I have beheld the last nine months, is wider and greater than I can tell you. In the South everywhere I have traveled I have beheld the desolation of war; everything I saw there, reminded me that war is desolating our land; but as I came across the Potomac and traverse the Free States, I see nothing that reminds me of war. You know nothing of war, you feel nothing of the war, except those of you who have offered up loved ones for the honor and safety of their country. Everywhere in the South the land is desolate because of the war. As the President of the Confederate States said, they undertook an enterprise, the magnitude of which they did not at all comprehend; an enterprise that had no other purpose than the establishment of a great empire founded on human slavery.

### *Exhaustion of Rebel Resources and Repudiation of their Currency.*

Until within a few months, the leading men of the South confidently believed in the success of their undertaking. Now they begin to realize the tremendous power of the North, in its naval resources, in men, money, and all the appliances of war, and everywhere they despair of success.

The resources of the Rebel country are exhausted. The Rebel Government is destitute of money, destitute of credit. It is impossible, as the rebels begin now to understand, to carry on this great war without money, without credit, without food, and with an absolute destitution of almost all the appliances of war.

Just before I left Richmond the Rebel Congress had passed an act in effect repudiating all their currency, amounting to \$850,000,000. On and after the first of April all the notes of the denomination of \$100, not invested in four per cent. bonds (which are worthless in the market) are taxed one hundred per cent. All other notes are taxed thirty-three and one third per cent.; and thereafter are taxed ten per cent. a month, until their nominal value shall be absorbed in that way. The \$100 Treasury notes amount to \$400,000,000, and those of all other denominations to \$450,000,000.

This measure is a distinct repudiation of the entire circulation of \$850,000,000. At the same time the Government proposes to issue a new series of Treasury notes, which they hope will have some credit in their domains. You will judge whether such a scheme will be likely to succeed; whether a war can be carried on by money such as that; whether armies such as theirs can be paid and fed with such a currency. The financiers of the South are destitute of all knowledge upon the subject of finance, and they say in excuse for this ignorance, that hitherto all financial operations on a great scale have been entirely in the hands of Northern men, and carried on in Northern cities.

### *Ignorance and Barbarity of the Rebel Home Guards.*

You have heard from high authority that the people of the South are semi-barbarians. Educated, so far as they are educated at all, in a disregard of the rights of four millions of their fellow-men; accustomed as they are to see the rights of others trampled in the dust, and undertaking to subsist upon their unrequited labor, they learn to disregard the rights of everybody else, in their intercourse with both blacks and whites. You see it in their intercourse with each other. The Union prisoners have come in contact with this feeling very largely. I would not be understood that there are no cultivated

people at the South, but the Union prisoners have come in contact with such a people, and they have experienced the most barbarous treatment. From the Confederate soldiers at the front they have experienced kind and courteous treatment. But from the "Home Guards" it has been more barbarous than any prisoners of war have suffered since the days of the "Black Hole" of Calcutta. I know of nothing in the history of war to compare with the shameful treatment of the Union prisoners at Richmond and Atlanta, Georgia.

### *Inhuman treatment of our prisoners by the Rebels.*

A large quantity of clothing and blankets was sent to my care to be distributed to the soldiers. I was permitted to visit them for the purpose of distributing the articles. Passing around the camp at Belle Isle, I saw the wretched condition of our soldiers as to clothing and quarters. Nearly one-half of them were without shelter of any kind, and all were in extreme want of clothing. As I passed around the camp they cried to me to send them food. Shelterless and almost naked, as many of them were, their first want was food—their chief suffering was from hunger. On my return to Richmond, I addressed a note to General Winder, in command there, stating that one-half the soldiers were without shelter, and all without sufficient food, and asking his immediate attention to their miserable condition. The result was that I was not permitted to visit the soldiers any more, their condition was not alleviated, and these stores were put into the hands of another officer, who would conduct himself toward the Rebel authorities with a great deal more forbearance than I was supposed to be capable of. Soldiers perished there at about the rate of five hundred per month during the winter months, as we were informed.

### *Scenes at Belle Isle. The Rebel soldiers steal clothing and provisions from prisoners.*

As I was at Belle Isle, I went into the hospital, consisting of tents without any floor, the sick lying upon the ground, without blankets, without pillows, some of them with sticks of wood for pillows, and on protesting to General Winder against this treatment, I was refused permission to visit those poor creatures for the future. The Government sent large quantities of provisions to the soldiers as well as the officers. Much of this was stolen, so that Yankee overcoats were very common. Soldiers in Yankee overcoats promenading the streets of Richmond drew so much attention that they caused these coats to be colored black. They were ashamed to be seen with Yankee overcoats stolen from the poor suffering soldiers. Large quantities of food as well as of clothing were sent there by the Sanitary Commission also, and these were stolen by the Rebel authorities, and appropriated to their own use in large amounts. A very small proportion of these reached our soldiers.

### *Scenes at Libby Prison.*

Libby Prison was a great tobacco warehouse, or, rather, three tobacco warehouses, three stories high upon the front, four stories upon the rear, separated by brick walls, through which doors were cut. Our officers were placed in these rooms with bare walls, bare floors, and without any blankets.

When I arrived there I was clad in the lightest summer clothes. It was a cold October night, and my sufferings must have been extreme but for the kindness of my fellow-officers in supplying me with garments and blankets. After a while a great quantity of blankets was sent by the Sanitary Commission, which made us comparatively comfortable, but we were treated in no other respect than as so many negroes sent to Richmond to a barracoen for sale. An officer who had a very extensive acquaintance at the South said we were not nearly so well treated as that, for blacks sent for sale were kindly cared for that they might bring a better price. The Union officers were treated as so many cattle turned into a slaughter-pen or barn to sleep. Confederate officers in the hands of Union authorities were treated courteously and kindly; that is right.

### *Incident of his exchange.*

A little incident occurred to myself which will illustrate the point of the difference of treatment between their prisoners and ours. I was exchanged for General Lee. As I was called down to pass off I had two large trunks to take away. I could obtain no

assistance in transporting them—no dray or other mode of conveyance. Some of my fellow-officers kindly tendered their assistance, and we carried them between us through the streets of Richmond to the steamer, on which we were ordered upon the forward deck and forbidden to come abaft the wheels. We were situated on the steamer like so many cattle, slaves, or swine on the way to market. At City Point we met General Lee in the magnificent saloon of the Federal steamer New York, we ourselves emerging from the forward deck of the dirty Rebel steamer. When General Lee and his fellow-officers were ready to change steamers the General stooped to take his small valise, when the Union officer in command said to a soldier near, "Sergeant, take the General's valise on board for him!" I mention this to show the sort of treatment we received down South, and that which the Rebels meet with when they fall into our hands. They are treated kindly, courteously; we rudely, barbarously. We don't complain, because we will strike a balance with them one of these days. [Cries of "good," and cheers.]

### *Union men in the South—Shooting of Union Soldiers at the prison windows.*

There are a great many Union people down South, even in Virginia; Union men and Union women. I shall not give any names. We had communication with Union people by writing and by signals, and the rebels could not prevent it. They threatened to shoot us if we looked out of the windows. One of their own men looked out and they shot him. They were resolved to shoot a Yankee as an offset for this, and a rebel sentinel fired several times at us without success. They were exceedingly mortified at shooting their own man, the ball entering the right eye and stopping at the back of the head. These rebel sentinels watched our men at the windows very much as boys hunting squirrels and looking into the trees for their game. But many of the guards gave us all the information which came to their knowledge of what was going on around Richmond, as to the pressure for food, and in all other matters.

### *Kilpatrick's Raid—Preparations to blow up Libby Prison.*

They told us of Kilpatrick's raid. On the 1st of March arrangements had been made to receive him. And what do you suppose the arrangements were? To defend Richmond? Was that it? No. They mined Libby Prison, with the intention of blowing up it and us; to use their own phrase, "to blow us to hell!" [Voice—"Is there proof of that?"] That is capable of proof. I cannot tell you how the fact was intimated to us the next day without betraying those from whom the intimation came. On the morning of Wednesday, March 2, after we had been informed of the gunpowder plot, Dick Turner, the Inspector of Military Prisons, was asked by many officers, at different times, if we were correctly informed, and he assured us it was true; that a large quantity of powder had been placed under the prison to blow us up if Kilpatrick had come in, and that it would be done yet if attempts were made to rescue us.

The Rev. Dr. Smith, President of Randolph-Macon College, well known down South, and known in the North too, as an able and influential man, came into the prison to visit Lieut. Col. Nichols, of the 18th Connecticut regiment, with whom he was acquainted. He said that powder had been placed in the basement for the purpose of "blowing us into atoms." Col. Nichols did not believe it. Dr. Smith assured him it was so. He had then come from the office of Judge Ould, Commissioner of Exchanges, who told him it was so. The Rev. Dr. McCabe said the same thing to Col. Cesnola, of the 4th New York Cavalry, and others. Some officers were in the kitchen at the back window, directly over the door leading into the cellar. Major Turner, the commandant of the prison—Dick Turner—and four or five rebel officers, went into the cellar, and on coming out they remained a few moments at the door, and one of the officers said, "By G—d, if you touch that off it will blow them to hell, sure enough."

On the morning we came away, Major Turner assured Capt. Sawyer and Capt. Flynn, who were exchanged in connection with myself, that powder was there, and he said, "Rather than have you rescued, I would have blown you to hell, even if we had gone there ourselves." At first we could not believe it; not that we did not suppose them capable of it. We did not suppose them to be fools enough to be guilty of an act like that. The destruction of nine hundred Union officers in that way would not have been a fatal blow to the Union cause, but it would have drawn down upon them the execrations of mankind; it would have united the Northern people as one man, and would have fired the Northern heart with an intense indignation, and when Richmond should

be captured, it would have been utterly destroyed, and blotted out forever from the earth. At first we could not believe that such an act could have been contemplated, but we now regard it as established by satisfactory proof. Such is the temper of the leaders of the rebellion! Such their character!

*The Negroes—How the Rebels use them, and what they think of their use by the Federals.*

The negroes! It seems to strike them with horror that we should enlist in the public service the negro. A great many conversations I have had with civilians as well as officers on the subject. They say it is barbarous, unknown in the history of mankind. They say the negroes are their property. Our answer is, we take away your horses and your mules. We use them to draw baggage trains and in the artillery service, wherever we can make them useful. You also take away our horses and our mules. I tell them when we cannot carry off the horses and mules, we destroy them: and they do the same by ours if they can. They admit that this is according to the usages of war. We find a part of their population very friendly to us and hostile to them. They use them to dig their intrenchments, because they find them useful. We also use them in any way in which we can find them useful. If we could make horses or mules bear arms and fire guns, we should do it. We can put arms into the hands of the blacks, and find them useful.

They say it is atrocious to raise up against them their own servants—their own property. It is in accordance with the usages of all nations, through all history, for an invading army to avail itself of the aid, in every way, of any part of the population of the invaded country, which can by promises of advantage, or payment, or liberty, be induced to lend their support. The blacks, everywhere in the South, flock to our standard, eager to aid us in the suppression of the rebellion, thereby overthrowing slavery. To accept their assistance, and to seek it is a perfectly legitimate act, while to reject it would be the extreme of folly.

The rebels have said that we could not find the negroes useful as soldiers, that they were cowards, and would run at the sight of a white man and a whip. But they have long since found that an escaped slave, armed on equal ground, is fully a match for his former master.

*What General Butler thinks of Negro soldiers.*

Gen. Butler told me that he has two excellent black regiments of cavalry, and that in a recent fight of 600 of them against a greatly superior force of rebel cavalry, supported by infantry and four pieces of artillery, the blacks won a brilliant victory. They charged the rebels in the most admirable manner, with loud shouts of defiance, and with the sabre put them to rout, and drove them in confusion off the field. In many cases the rebels have put colored soldiers—prisoners—to death as soon as they were captured, and in this case the cavalry took no prisoners; they gave no quarter, and asked none. The barbarous execution of black prisoners by the rebels has not intimidated the negro soldiers, but, on the contrary, has exasperated them to such a degree that they are quite ready to accept the rebel policy of "no quarter!" On the occasion I speak of, a black servant was surrounded and called upon to surrender. His reply was, "No quarter, I choose to die in battle and not by the halter," and he killed several of his assailants before he fell himself, covered with wounds.

*What General Dow thinks of Negro soldiers.*

I have myself seen blacks placed in most trying positions in battle, and once had them in my own command in front of an attacking column, carrying timber for crossing a ditch, and no veteran troops could behave better, and no position could be imagined where more courage would be required. The rebels have boasted that they could put armed blacks to flight simply with the flourish of the whip; but they have already learned that the emancipated slave is a man, and that in this war he is stimulated to brave deeds by every noble consideration that can animate the heart.

When I left home, more than two years ago, there was a good deal of speculation in regard to negro soldiers, but the prevailing sentiment seemed to be that they would not be practically useful, and ought not to be permitted to help us fight our battles. I rejoice now at the change in public sentiment which I perceive exists here.

## *Encouragement given to the Rebels by Northern Sympathizers and the opposition to Emancipation.*

If we had commenced this war with such a public sentiment as we have now we should have triumphed long ago. The administration in the prosecution of this war has been constantly embarrassed by divisions among our own people, and by a perverse public sentiment at the North in relation to the whole question of slavery. A large party existed here whose sympathies were supposed to be in favor of slavery and against emancipation, and against any effort to preserve the Union and the Government. The rebels were greatly encouraged to perseverance by this fact, while our Administration was necessarily embarrassed by it. Violent was the opposition to any measure looking at emancipation and the enlistment of negro soldiers. But public opinion has been greatly changed, until at present the numbers are few who oppose the former measure or object to the latter. In two short years, how wonderful the change!

## *The Rebels hope that Lincoln will not be re-elected. They desire the success of Chase or Fremont.*

At present the rebels are looking anxiously at movements at the North in relation to the next Presidential election. Their hope is that some other man than Mr. Lincoln may be nominated and elected to the Presidency. The election of any other person they will regard as a sure indication that the loyal North tires of the war, and means to change its policy in relation to it. The leaders of the rebellion have now no other hope of success than this, and their hope is that those may come into power who will say to them, "Erring sisters, depart in peace!" The officers in Libby Prison, who had abundant opportunities to see the feeling of the rebels on this subject, were anxious that the loyal men of the North should perceive the danger of lending any encouragement to it. No man has a greater respect than myself for Mr. Chase and Mr. Fremont, nor a more entire conviction of their loyalty and their ability to conduct the affairs of the country with honor to themselves and to the advantage of the Nation, but for this time I should regard the nomination of any other person than Mr. Lincoln as a public misfortune.

## *Prospects for the Next Campaign.*

My conviction is, that the ensuing campaign, if active, earnest and successful, will be the last. Preparations are in progress to this end, and I am confident that the rebellion cannot withstand or survive the onset. Its finances are utterly ruined; its credit entirely exhausted, at home and abroad; its leaders despair of success; the masses of the people, weary and exhausted by war, desire peace on any terms; its armies are unpaid and underfed, and the conscripts of which they are entirely composed, have no heart in the struggle, since in any event they have nothing to hope or to gain, while they and their families are the greatest sufferers by it. The people everywhere in the South are suffering extremely for want of every comfort, and even for the common necessities of life; and they know that it is only through peace that they can escape from their perils and distresses.

## *When the War will End.*

I have often been asked at the South, by civilians as well as officers of high rank, when I thought the war would end. My reply has been uniformly: When one party or the other shall be thoroughly exhausted; and that they could judge as well as I which party that would probably be. The North has twenty-one millions of people, the South has between three and four millions of whites within the rebel lines; the North has a great and constantly increasing navy, the South has none at all; the North has an unbounded credit, the South has exhausted any that it ever had; the North is contending for its national existence, the South for the power to extend and perpetuate human slavery—an enterprise in which no nation sympathizes with it, while all civilized people everywhere abhor it. It is impossible that God can look with favor upon such an undertaking.

## *Insufficiency of rations furnished to Union officers at Richmond---Horrible suffering of Federal Prisoners.*

The rations supplied by the rebels to the Union officers at Richmond, are unfit for human food, and incapable of sustaining life in a healthy condition. They consist only

of a small quantity of bread made of corn meal, unsifted, and manufactured in the worst manner, and about half a gill of rice two or three times a week. Occasionally, a single medium-sized potato or three or four small ones are given to each man, and three or four times, a small turnip has been given to each. And this is all. For a time supplies sent by friends to the officers were honestly and promptly delivered to them, but for some weeks before I left Richmond, this was not done, and there were accumulated there more than 4,000 boxes sent to officers, which had been detained from them. These boxes are now systematically plundered by the officials of their most valuable contents, especially of clothing. Union officers are subjected to the most humiliating treatment by the prison officials.

The Sanitary Commission sent to my care great quantities of comforts and luxuries for the use of the officers. A small quantity of these was delivered, but the greater part of them was retained by the rebel officials for their own use and for sale. In our purchases we found many of these Sanitary goods, stolen by the officials and sold to us at enormous prices.

The rations furnished to the privates consisted *entirely of corn bread of miserable quality* and insufficient quantity, which produces derangement in the digestive organs, and death. The soldiers are slowly wasting away, and die of sheer starvation and cold. Two of them sent off from Richmond at the same time with myself, died of exhaustion before reaching Annapolis.

These poor creatures were reduced to such a state of extreme suffering that many of them were demented. They could not tell the name of their colonel or the number of their regiment. One of them had become perfectly idiotic from long protracted suffering, many of them having slept all winter in the open air, with no shelter, and without overcoats or blankets. They were all supplied at the commencement of the winter with both, sent them by the United States Government, but they were compelled to sell them, in many instances, to procure the means of subsistence, their rations not being sufficient to support them in a state of health.

### *Depreciation of Rebel Currency.*

It is understood down South that all rebel "promises to pay" are to be repudiated. There is no one who pretends that it is to be anything else. Rebel currency and rebel bonds are spoken of in a tone of contempt by all the public papers. One of the Richmond papers, in an article on finance, quoted a paragraph from *The London Times*, in which it was said that in marketing in the rebel States the money was taken in the basket, and the purchase carried home in the pocket-book.

In a police report *The Examiner* said there was found upon the person of one accused of stealing, \$40 in gold, \$75 in greenbacks, and about half a peck of Confederate Treasury notes and bonds. The same paper spoke of speculators who had made money by the "bale," as if it had been hay, and valued by the cubic foot. The soldiers said they were paid by the paymaster walking down the line with baskets of money, every man taking out for himself as much as he pleased. Their stated pay is \$14 per month, while negroes impressed into the service—or their owners—received \$45 a month. The soldiers say the slaves are treated much better than themselves, especially when sick, because a dead negro is a loss to his owner, while a dead soldier is thought to be a loss to nobody; he is only a "poor white," who is regarded everywhere in the South as a nuisance—occupying a lower place in the social scale than the slave.

### *The South despairs of Success. What they have lost.*

The Southern people now generally understand that the Rebel cause is lost, and are inquiring with anxiety as to the course that will be taken with their persons and property by the Washington Government. I have been many times inquired of by officers and civilians upon that point, and have always assured them that the persons and property of the masses of the people would not be interfered with; that only the active promoters and leaders of the Rebellion would be punished in person and property; that the Union men of the country who had been plundered by the Rebels would be indemnified out of the property of the aggressors. Beyond that I thought confiscation would not be enforced. The losses of the South by the Rebellion up to this time have been enormous. The Treasury notes and bonds of the Rebel Government are not less in amount than \$1,600,000,000, an entire loss to the people. The money value of the slaves at the commencement of this war was not less than \$2,500,000,000, soon to be of no



value to the owners. And the loss of cotton, sugar, and tobacco crops, and the losses by the desolation of the Southern country, cannot be less than \$1,500,000,000, making the enormous amount of \$5,600,000,000! an amount greater than that of the national debt of Great Britain.

Every branch of industry in the South is prostrate and ruined; the entire country is desolate. Every white male between the ages of 18 and 60 is declared by law to be in the military service of the Confederacy, and no man in the entire country can be engaged as a clerk, artisan, or workman in any counting-room, or factory, or other establishment, without a regular military detail from the authorities. Without that no man can remain at home to attend to his own affairs, however important. The Southern country is a vast camp, full of soldiers, disciplined and undisciplined—every man a soldier—with none to feed, clothe, or pay them.

### *What the North will gain by the War.*

To the North, the loyal North, the war has cost fearfully in treasure and in blood. The treasure is to us of small account, because our wealth is increasing with wonderfug rapidity. A debt that may seem large to us will be small for the next generation, whose ability to pay will be fourfold greater than ours. But the expenditure of life—we cannot measure that by gold. But we freely lay all upon the altar of our country—fortune and life—to preserve our nation from those who seek to blot it out from the map of the world, and to pronounce man incapable of self-government. The institutions of personal, civil, and religious liberty that we have inherited from our fathers, we mean to transmit unimpaired to our children, and to that end we gladly devote our fortunes and our lives.

When this war shall be ended, and liberty shall be proclaimed through the land to all the inhabitants thereof, and our Government shall be established in the love and fear of God forever, the survivors will see that the value of it to the nation and to mankind will be far beyond its cost, and those who now mourn the death of father, brother, son, slain in battle or starved in rebel prisons, will be comforted by the thought that their dear ones perished in the cause of civilization, humanity and Christianity, and that by their death Justice and Truth are established on an everlasting throne.

# THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE.

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## SPEECH

OF

# HON. JAMES H. LANE,

BEFORE THE

## UNION LINCOLN CAMPAIGN CLUB,

AT THE

## COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK,

MARCH 30, 1864.

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### *Importance of the approaching Election.*

It is a distinguished honor to be permitted to address so large and intelligent an audience, at this important period in our country's history, at the metropolis of the nation. We are here to review the political condition of the country, preparatory to the approaching presidential election. This is the first meeting, as I learn from your President, of your organization, formed for the purpose of uniting the energies of the Union men of New York for that election, the most important in the history of the country. We have had many important elections, but never one so important as that now approaching. In it is involved, in the opinion of your speaker, the very existence of our beloved country. If the nominees of the Union party are elected, our country will be restored, and a permanent peace secured, upon the basis of universal freedom. If we are defeated, a disgraceful compromise will be the result, as certain as night follows day, and we and our descendants compelled to mourn over a dismembered country and decimated power. [Applause.] In this view, how

great the responsibility resting upon every voter, and how important that he should take that responsibility home to his heart and to his conscience, ere he makes up his election, and the manner in which he will exercise his suffrage! At all times the right of suffrage is sacred to the true patriot, but at the coming election it should be exercised with more than usual caution, for your country is the stake.

### *How he came to be an Anti-Slavery man.*

If any of you have heard of me at all, you have heard of me as an anti-slavery man. [Applause.] It may not be apropos, but I will give an idea of what first opened my eyes to the enormity of slavery. I was born and reared a Democrat, and—oh! what a thing to say before God—taught to believe that slavery was a divine institution.

For the purpose of showing how my first anti-slavery convictions were produced, I will relate an anecdote of a young man who, some eighteen years ago, went with me from my home in Indiana on a voyage down the Mississippi river. I was convey-

ing produce to the Southern country, and this young man, who was a carpenter, asked me for a passage to the coast. The young man was poor, and had a widowed mother and a sister, and was in search of employment. I felt so much for the young man that I rowed him ashore myself, and went with him to a slave owner who resided on the Mississippi, and who, to all appearances, was a gentleman. He listened patiently to the young man's case, expressed his sorrow for the condition of his mother and sister, and said that he would give him some employment, but that he had bought a couple of house carpenters the day before. These words have ever since been ringing in my ears. What would any Irish laborer or artisan say—and I have a right to speak of Irishmen, because I have Irish blood in my veins—what would they say if, on applying for honorable employment, they should be told, "we would employ you, but we bought a couple of house carpenters yesterday." (Laughter.) It would be enough to convince any one that such a thing as liberty had no existence here. And what right has any man in this Republic to buy house carpenters, or any other kind of carpenters? (Slight hissing.)

A VOICE. I did hope that there were no copperhead Irishmen here. (Applause.)

MR. LANE. Yes, how proud would I be of my Irish blood if I could only know that there were no copperheads among my people.

A soldier among the audience, dressed in full uniform, hereupon arose and reminded the speaker that there were Irish soldiers as well as Irish copperheads present. (Applause.)

MR. LANE. If I were down there I would take that man by the hand. There cannot be much copperheadism in the heart where the hand has grasped the sword and the rifle for our country. (Applause.)

### *President Lincoln the only man who did not falter in the hour of trial.*

To aid you in coming to a correct conclusion in the exercise of the right of suffrage, permit me to make a statement of matters that came within my personal knowledge. In April, 1861, I went to Washington City, whilst the hearts of men were failing them and perplexity overspread the land. I found there one party in favor of surrendering the Capital to the South, and moving the archives to Philadelphia; another party in favor of acknowledging the independence of the South, permitting the erring sisters to go in peace, hoping to retain the Capital for the time being. There was one man,

however, who, cool and collected in the midst of universal excitement, resolved to retain the Capital, even if it required an armed soldier to every foot of territory within the District, and resolved to assert the sovereignty of the Government over every inch of land in the Republic, and to recover every fortress so rudely and ruthlessly torn therefrom. That man, who has never faltered in this patriotic purpose, and who has labored to restore the Union by the exercise of skillful diplomacy and military power, with signal success, is ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois. (Loud and continued applause, and six cheers for Presid't Lincoln.)

### *The popular confidence will not be impaired by his re-election.*

When Mr. Lincoln was first elected to fill the place which he now holds, it was through mere party or political necessity, but subsequent events abundantly show that a necessity greater than that of party now exists for continuing the reins of administration in his hands. Amongst the necessities for this continuance, we may enumerate the fact that more or less danger arises from disturbing the Executive Department in the midst of civil war, when precedent and former custom will justify Mr. Lincoln's holding over for a second term. (Cheers.) Every reasonable man will admit that a change of Executive will most assuredly involve, and possibly change the policy of the war, and may dangerously unsettle for a time the aggressive movements of our arms. If changes are required in the subordinate departments, they can be made by a careful, prudent, and judicious process under the hand of the present incumbent; for it requires no argument to satisfy the public mind that Mr. Lincoln earnestly desires to represent the will of the country in the recast of his Cabinet, which, in my opinion, should follow his re-election. Further, it would be unwise to disturb the friendly relations which exist between this Administration and foreign Governments; for all must admit that our foreign relations are of the most delicate character, and that we should not take upon ourselves the slightest risk in that direction. (Applause.)

### *An able Foreign Policy.*

As for our foreign relations, they have never been so successfully managed as under the guidance of Mr. Lincoln and his Secretary of State. (Three cheers for W. H. Seward.)

If Mr. Lincoln be re-elected, the people of the United States must do it without any advice or suggestion from him, and those who would stand in the way of the people's will must fall as flat as if an elephant had stamped on them. (Laughter.) Since Abraham Lincoln has so well discharged his duties in times of war, I have a curiosity to see how he will discharge them in times of peace. It is but common justice that he should be again elected.

### *Traitors should be made to accept him.*

Again, so far as your speaker is concerned, he feels like compelling traitors to submit to the rule of him whom they have rejected in their treason and rebellion; and it is my opinion that this is no more than a just retribution, and one I believe heaven would sanction; for a more wicked, causeless and infamous rebellion was never organized against man or government.

Let us review the circumstances under which Mr. Lincoln came into power, and learn therefrom his capacity and ability for government. He was called to his high trust under circumstances the most exciting and trying. One half of the country was in rebellion around him. The best military skill in the lead of that rebellion flushed its instigators with all that confidence which military experience gives. Jeff. Davis and his associates appeared more than a match for the then inexperienced Executive of the country, called to the chair by a constituency confined to the Free States. The President's position was truly embarrassing, and rendered all the more so by the threatening aspect of the European Powers, who hailed our troubles as the opportune moment to strike the wedge in the fracture made in the Federal Union.

### *Administrative Inexperience.*

Again, he came into power surrounded by many friends inexperienced in the management of public affairs. The ripe experience of the South had abandoned him; half the North had imbibed its political tenets from the arbitrary tutorship of a partisan Democracy. Thus but a fraction of the administrative mind of the country, disciplined in matters of State, and competent to breast the conflicting elements of civil and social disorganization, were disposed to come to his aid. Is it strange that under the circumstances some fear for the consequences should have filled the hearts of many true men?

### *Triumph over Embarrassments.— Douglas and his Patriotic Compeers. The Popular Will.*

When all this is considered, we are astonished that he has been able to hold such a steady helm in the midst of the storm that is raging around the ship of State, which in its fury has tried every timber, tested every spar, strained every rope, and came well nigh sinking the noble craft. It was in that trying hour that the patriotism of Stephen A. Douglas and the men who acted with him shone out in all its grandeur, and for which the country will long honor them. This view of the difficulties and embarrassments of President Lincoln, and the skill with which he surmounted them, amply demonstrate his capacity for governing, and show that the instincts of the people, which are always right, have fastened on the right man for the place. The popular desire being so conspicuously manifest, the fact of secondary organizations within our political party, for the strange design of defeating this admitted favorite of the people, is a just object of reprobation. [A voice—"How are you, Pomeroy?"]

### *The Emancipation Proclamation a glorious monument of the patience and sagacity of President Lincoln. The rock on which his enemies split.*

The principal pretext upon which the enemies of Mr. Lincoln excuse their attempts to thwart the popular will is, that he does not come up to their standard of radicalism. To this I desire to call your especial attention; and I assert that the Emancipation Proclamation freeing every slave, striking the shackles from the limbs of every human being in the rebellious States, was issued at the earliest possible moment that prudence would justify. And he who criticises Mr. Lincoln for not acting earlier upon this important question, betrays his ignorance of the situation and the danger that would have resulted from the premature issue of those papers, inasmuch as the Northern mind moved slowly up to the point of preparation, and only attained that preparation by the quickening impulse of bloodshed and the thunder of cannon. These things should be remembered by those who would try him by partisan views, or murmur because he was not inclined to strike a premature blow at slavery, when by so doing he would only jeopardize the restoration of the Union and the emancipation of the slave. We should withhold our censure at the de-

liberate movements of this sagacious man, when we realize that the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation came nigh losing to us the political power of the country. [Applause.]

### *Popular repugnance to arming the Blacks.*

These fault-finders complain that Mr. Lincoln was slow in putting arms into the hands of the black man. On that question I assert, fearlessly assert, that he moved at the earliest moment public sentiment would permit. Had this order been issued at an earlier day, the white soldiers would have resented it by mutiny, for not till thousands of them had been slain, and other thousands wounded and maimed, did they give a reluctant consent to receive the aid of the black auxiliary; and even at this day there is a section in the Border States where we are not permitted to recruit colored soldiers. ("That's so.")

I raised the first negro regiment in Kansas, and for months I did not dare to come out with them, such was the state of public feeling. Now there is not a white soldier who is not willing that a black one should stop a bullet. I want to see no less than 500,000 negro troops in the field to help to crush out the rebellion, and to do another thing, that is, when the rebellion is over, that we may with negro regiments assert the Monroe doctrine, and drive Maximilian out of Mexico.—(Enthusiastic cheers, and three cheers for Mexico.)

### *Firm on the Anti-Slavery Platform.*

Firm and immovable stands Abraham Lincoln on the Anti-Slavery platform, and yet these croakers continue their fault-finding. [Applause.] Let a man be judged by his acts, and what has not Mr Lincoln done for the amelioration of the black man? If he has not declared himself in favor of the admixture of the two races, he honestly believes, as I do, that it is far better for both races that they should separate and live distinct under the protective care of the same Government. (A voice—"Would it hurt a Copperhead to mix him.") Mr. Lane, well, I don't know exactly; they have been practising it for the last two hundred years. (Laughter.)

### *A kind word of Warning.*

I would be untrue to the political interests of the country, and to the political party with which I act, if I did not utter a word

of warning to those who are pushing forward the claims of any candidate or measure clearly beyond the point at which the Anti-Slavery mind of the country is disposed to rest in its efforts for the emancipation of the slave. We tell gentlemen that the movement to re-nominate him comes, not from the politicians of the country, but from the people; and the assumed leaders who attempt to thwart the will of the country will find to their sorrow that, at this date, they are not sufficiently powerful. The patriotic masses will have their own way this time, though politicians should go down. (Great applause.)

### *Unconditional Emancipation, and the happy destiny of the Black Man.*

This revolution means the entire abolition of the relation of master and slave, and the establishment of freedom in fact as well as in name, by fundamental enactment provided for by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It means the repeal of many laws which have disgraced the statutes of the country, but does not mean in any manner to invalidate the future peace of the nation or the dominancy of our race; it means a gradual and voluntary drifting of the black man into the semi-tropical belt of our country. (Applause.) There he is needed to aid in the development and government of that magnificent country. On the return of peace he will not be so much needed here, and the law of necessity will govern his destiny, as it governs ours.

### *The Emigration of our Forefathers to escape oppression—a precedent for the Black Man.*

Our forefathers came to this wilderness because they desired to escape from the oppression of class, because they desired to better their condition, and leave a patrimony for their children, in which their labor would be crowned with abundance. I may be mistaken in the signs of the times, but I think that so soon as the experiment now being tried to mingle the two races has finally failed, as fail it must, a stream of migration will set from the North to South that will solve this vexed question forever. Until then we should cherish the kindest feelings for our colored wards, and suppress the brutal passions that too often have disgraced the ruling race of the land. The fact that thousands of this people are being elevated to the position of the soldier is a guarantee to the advocates of the separation of the races that they have started on a career to-

ward the tropics, to return only as sojourners. With them will go enough of our brain and nerve and skill to guide and direct them to empire and dominion there.

### *The natural home of the Colored Race.*

I am no judge of the instincts of our people, if the Southward armed move of their freedmen does not strike the public mind with favor, and will not be finally supported by the suffrages of the whole country. (Applause.) I am forgiving them Western Texas to begin with, and the fee to the public lands therein under the Homestead law. If others can do better for them I will be happy to learn and co-operate.

### *Emancipation not Amalgamation.*

Mr. Lincoln is irrevocably committed to the policy of emancipation and arming of the slaves. (Loud Cheers.) That party of which he is the respected leader, in their call for their Convention at Baltimore, have clearly committed the organization to crushing out the rebellion and the eradication of the cause thereof. What further is demanded at its hands? Shall we have a proclamation declaring the black man superior to the white, commanding the admixture of the races? Mr. President, I am called the radical of radicals, yet I never can and never will admit that there is any race superior to my own, nor will I ever consent that an act of treason to our race shall be deliberately perpetrated, nor submit to the domination of any other race in this Republic. Nor will I ever consent to act with any party which advocates the admixture of the two races, as such admixture would I firmly believe, produce the deterioration of our own race, without benefiting the black race. I submit that agitation on the subject is mischievous, calculated to strengthen the hands of our political enemies, and to excite the jealousies of one race against the other. Give us Mr. Lincoln as our standard-bearer upon such a platform as I have indicated, and we can carry every Congressional District in the loyal States. (Long continued cheering.)

### *Love of Country paramount to Personal Considerations.*

Fellow-citizens, I have heard no name mentioned in connection with the Presidency of the Union party, if nominated at the Baltimore Convention, but will receive my zealous support. The people will be there

represented by faithful and competent delegates. In their decision I will cheerfully acquiesce. It is a duty, in my opinion, we owe our country. I do not envy the man or set of men who will encourage dissatisfaction in the decision of that convention, either before or after its meeting. The candidates of our party who fail to submit their claims to that convention will incur a grave responsibility. Never has a convention assembled, and never will one so important be held, as that summoned to Baltimore. Should the nominee of that convention fail, the shrieks of prostrate freedom would resound throughout the civilized world, and woe be to the men who contribute to such a result.

### *Honorable competition approved, not censured.*

While in favor of the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, I have not assailed and do not presume to assail the candidates of my own party. Their merits and popularity are the property of the party. To disparage their merits or weaken their influence is a crime against the organization. He who indulges in such a course is neither just or politic. This battle to be fought with ballots in November is as important as any battle to be fought with bullets during the war. How would it sound if a portion of any command should stack their arms on the eve of battle, and refuse to fight because they disliked their general?

### *United action necessary.*

We must not flatter ourselves that the battle is to be won without unity of action, for our enemies are active and united on the general ground of opposition, whatever else may be their differences. It is their policy to disparage our strong men, to underrate the noble deeds of our political friends, and overrate the qualities of their own; to scoff at our measures, which because of their magnitude and merit command the approval of the country. In short, to crush out the party of progress and Union by the old game of detraction, falsely called politics. We must teach the country to give that word a better meaning; hereafter let it mean true statesmanship; let men and measures be put upon their merits, and there let them stand or fall.

### *What the Rebels condemn we should uphold.*

There is one special cause of offence to our opponents both in the North and South

—the Proclamation of Amnesty; the men in rebellion think it the concentration of all tyranny and oppression, humbling their pride; and, above all, calculated to weaken their armies by causing desertion. Judged by this standard, it is good and worthy of support. May its clarion tones sound loud and clear through all the South, calling off the guilty and deluded masses from their hopeless struggle. It can be no humiliation to swear fealty to the Government their fathers founded. (Applause.)

*No Northern man has a right to complain of the Administration.*

But why should the men of the North who are in opposition to the Administration complain? Does it not preserve the fundamental laws of the Southern States, slavery excepted? Does it not leave the vexed question of the franchises of the negro to the restored States themselves? It does not propose to Africanize the territory in dispute unless the States located in that territory adopt the African population thereof as their citizens. What's the matter with Copperheads? Ah! the actual offence is, that proclamation is second to no act of Mr. Lincoln's life, except the acts of Sept. 22, 1862, and Jan. 1, 1863.

*The claims of the Civilian not in conflict with those of the Military hero.*

Fellow-citizens, I am not one of those who fear that a military chieftain will be pitted against Mr. Lincoln by our opponents, for there is an instinct in the American mind adverse to the elevation of a military hero to the Presidency in time of civil war. They fear a danger to the more delicate institutions of the country. The hand of the military chief is necessarily an iron hand, destitute of that delicate sensibility which characterizes the hand of the civilian. While the people are anxious that the crushing grasp of an iron hand should be placed on the rebellion, they are by no means anxious to place the nerves and arteries of Republican life in such a hand till after the war is closed. With General Grant in the field, and the remaining eminent military men, either in the active support of Mr. Lincoln or passive to the event, there is but little doubt of our success. [Great applause.] Shall it be said that this political support will be wanting at the hands of such generals in the hour of the country's need? Will not those noble men who are ready to lay down their

lives for their country, to spill their blood in her behalf, agree to hold their claims in abeyance four years longer, until returning peace strikes off their harness, the helmet is laid by, and the sword and spear repose on the rack, in mansion hall, as honored mementoes of the past—until their hand and nerves are again adjusted to the civilian's habit and the statesman's jealous care of constitutional provisions and statute law. In the estimation of men of clear judgment it is best for the people of the country to retain all the military talent in the field, and rely on the existing Executive for another term of four years. (Applause.)

*Those who earn a double share of public confidence should receive their reward.*

Again do I state the position, that it is my deliberate judgment, as well as that of thousands of our best men, that the country should now, if ever, avail itself of the precedent and custom which have established the usage, of granting favored Executives a double term. Why should we tamper with the underpinning in an imperfect foundation just at the juncture when the fiercest storm ever experienced by the resident has broke on the trembling superstructure, threatening to bring the whole fabric tumbling in ruins about his head. Do not wisdom and policy dictate prudence and delay in regard to the proper time for change. (Cheering.)

*Mr. Lincoln, the Soldier's Friend.*

It has been said that others than Mr. Lincoln will have the vote of the army—that others are the favorites of the soldier. I do not believe it. (Applause.) The army admire and love plain honesty. Mr. Lincoln is a plain, honest man. The soldiers know that their wants have been his first care: that his chief attention has been their comfort and success. That while others have been plotting for the Presidency, the burden of his heart and the thoughts of his mind have been employed about military success. He has not suffered those in the field to remain without proper support. Call after call has been made for troops to sustain those already in the struggle, whilst money has been expended without stint to assure their success. No one can lay to his charge inattention to the wants of the rank and file of the army. And here may be the proper place for me to say that the rank and file, who now stand a living wall between us and our enemies, careless of life,



careless of health, careful for nothing but the country's honor and approval, should be honored whilst they live, and their memory, when they are gone, must be enshrined in the nation's heart. Whilst the *relics* that remain of their families should be cared for to the utmost of the nation's ability, great is the debt the country owes these men, and not this nation alone—but the suffering masses in every clime and in every land owe a debt to these champions of human liberty, who are struggling this day to defend republicanism from the attacks of the aristocrats and imperialists at home and abroad, and the latter not less than the former. (Applause.)

### *The Triumph of Republicanism over Imperialism Predicted.*

In this connection I quote from a "Letter on the relation of the white and African races in the United States," addressed to President Lincoln, dated May 18th, 1862. The extracts strikingly depict the chief features of the two conditions, and offer a prediction entirely consonant with the opinion I am now expressing:

"The rebellion that is now shaking the foundation of the nation, is the struggle of *Imperialism* to establish itself in a republican land. Imperialism, the government of the many by the few, the dominion of unchecked, despotic will, is one of the curses resulting from man's apostasy. For ages it has been regarded as a necessary evil amongst men—a thing of Divine appointment—and the fortunate incumbents of this power, for long centuries, have sheltered themselves behind this opinion, and strengthened themselves in this conviction. Nor are they altogether without authority in this; for, as despotic rule is a curse, we must admit that instruments for its infliction have been permitted.

"*Republicanism*, on the other hand, is a deliverance from this curse of despotic rule—a condition in which all men are equal before the law—and the law is supreme—meteing out equal protection and equal justice. Such was the plan of our republicanism as projected by the fathers of the nation; such has been the practice of most of the communities embraced within the broad field of the Republic; but in other sections of the land a different economy prevailed and continues to prevail; an imperialism of a circumscribed character has been practiced, which necessarily saps the foundation of republicanism and educates the people to *imperial rule*. This has been the source of our danger, and in this manifest weakness the Imperialists of Europe have found the greatest temptation to tamper with our prosperity and integrity."

And further the writer says:

"The history of the great rebellion is not yet complete; the unseen influences which have produced it are not fully disclosed; but the dim outline begins to take form and place, so that the true friends and actual enemies of this Republic will soon be discovered, and each receive the place in history that infamy or honor may award. When the work is complete, when the last act in the great and fearful drama shall have been closed, it will be found that our country has been the victim of a conspiracy, the magnitude of which is without a parallel in the history of nations—though wicked yet rendered grand through the

combination of potent and *princely* influences arrayed, and to be arrayed against us, because of the issues in question, and the result of the conflict—issues of no local character, but involving the fate of that system of government known in contradistinction to *imperial rule* as *republicanism*."—(Letter of Rev. James Mitchell to President Lincoln, on the white and African races in the United States, showing the necessity of the Colonization of the latter, p. 4.)

### *Why we are feared, hated, and respected by Monarchists.*

Imperialism has feared the rising power of a nation whose citizens are sovereigns, holding equal place in law and in society. Such a nation, rising in her silent grandeur, unarmed and indifferent to the decaying monarchies of the old world, desiring no privilege at their hands but to be let alone, was a source of alarm in times of peace. But how do they now regard her when they see her quiet citizens, at the call of one of their number, transformed as if by magic into mail-clad soldiers, each one of those soldiers himself a captain, self-reliant, self-poised, endowed with that individuality which enters into the character of every true hero. What must the advocates of imperialism think in such a case? How do the suffering millions look with fear and dread lest in this struggle we should suffer defeat, or our leaders stumble to our fall!

### *Liberty and Justice the foundation of our prosperity.*

But one thing assures me that we shall suffer no final defeat, no overwhelming repulse; it is this, the God of our fathers and our God is committed to the support of liberty and justice. Let us place ourselves right on the record with Him, and keep ourselves there, and then, come what may, the issue will be well. There is a future before the Republic more glorious than we have yet conceived. Let us have faith in our destiny and in that future, for the time will come when the principles we now advocate and now defend with life and fortune will be the heritage of every nation under the sun. We may not be the chief among such nations, but we will have the gratification of knowing that we were amongst the first, in the providence of God, to assume a bold and decided stand for the great principles of civil and religious liberty. (Cheers.)

At the conclusion of Gen. Lane's address the Glee Club sang a patriotic song, and a band which was in attendance played a number of national airs. The meeting closed with three times three thundering cheers for Abraham Lincoln, and three more for Gen. Lane.